

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

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H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-15 ACDA-10 DHA-02 EB-08 COME-00
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R 021230Z AUG 77
FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5785
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
US MISSION USUN NEW YORK 1208

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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PDEV, WA
SUBJ: SWAPO ARTICLE ON NAMIBIAN SETTLEMENT EFFORT BY WESTERN FIVE

SUMMARY

1. DAILY NEWS OF JULY 31, CARRIED ARTICLE OF KATJAVIVI
(SWAPO DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION, LONDON) PRESENTING
SWAPO'S CONDITIONS FOR A NAMIBIAN SETTLEMENT, PRINCIPAL
POINTS OF ARTICLE ARE:-

A) INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISION IS NECESSARY TO END SOUTH
AFRICAN MILITARY OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA

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B) JUSTICE MARTHINUS STEYN IS UNACCEPTABLE IN PRINCIPLE
AS AN ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL

C) ELECTIONS MUST BE HELD UNDER UN SUPERVISION AND CONTROL

D) SOUTH AFRICAN INTENTIONS WILL NOT BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY UNTIL
ITS ARMED FORCES ARE WITHDRAWN. END SUMMARY

2. TEXT OF ARTICLE FOLLOWS. BEGIN TEXT.

ONE OF THE BASIC CONDITIONS FOR ANY PROGRESS COMING OUT OF AN EXTERNAL INITIATIVE, SUCH AS THAT OF THE FIVE WESTERN POWERS, MUST BE WITHDRAWAL OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN ARMY FROM NAMIBIAN SOIL.

FOR 11 YEARS NOW OUR FORCES HAVE FOUGHT SOUTH AFRICA'S. WHY SHOULD WE NOW BE EXPECTED TO LAY DOWN OUR ARMS IF THEY STILL USE THEIRS TO BOLSTER UP THEIR OCCUPATION ADMINISTRATION? IT MUST BE EMPHASISED THAT WE ARE NOT TALKING ABOUT A STRAIGHT COLONIAL SITUATION WHERE ONE POWER HANDS OVER TO ANOTHER. NAMIBIA IS UNDER MILITARY OCCUPATION.

IN ORDER TO BRING THIS OCCUPATION TO A PEACEFUL END ONE NEEDS INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISION, FOR WHICH THE UNITED NATIONS HAS TAKEN RESPONSIBILITY.

ALL FIVE POWERS INVOLVED IN THE INITIATIVE HAVE ECONOMICINTERESTS IN NAMIBIA.

- FRANCE IS EXPLORING FOR OIL AND MINING RANIUM.
- CANADA - THROUGH FALCONBRIDGE AND THE HUDSON BAY COMPANY.
- WEST GERMAN HAS INVESTMENTS IN BANKS AND OTHER

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COMMERCIAL UNDERTAKINGS.

- BRITAIN - RTZ MINING AT ROSSING.
- UNITED STATES - THE HUGE TSUMEB COPPER MINE.

WHATEVER THEIR DESIRE TO AVOID A FULL-SCALE AND PROLONGED RACIAL CONFRONTATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. THEY WILL HAVE INTERESTS OF THEIR OWN TO PROTECT.

IN THEIR DESIRE TO DO SO, THEY HAVE BEEN QUITE OPEN ABOUT THEIR UNWILLINGNESS TO INVOKE CHAPTER 7 OF THE UN CHARTER - WHICH WOULD OPEN UP THE PATH TO MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA, AS WELL AS THE POSSIBILITY OF ECONOMIC SANCTIONS WHICH WOULD JEOPARDISE THEIR OWN INTERESTS IN THE AREA. BUT THERE ARE SIGNS THAT THE WESTERN POWERS THEMSELVES ARE NOT WHOLLY CONVINCED THAT PRIME MINISTER VORSTER WILL HONOUR THE AGREED PROPOSALS, AND THAT THEY ARE PREPARED TO CONSIDER INVOLVING CHAPTER 7 IF THINGS BREAK DOWN.

IN VIEW OF THIS UNCERTAINTY, EVEN ON THE PART OF THE WESTERN POWERS, IT WOULD BE COMMITTING NATIONAL SUICIDE FOR SWAPO TO LAY DOWN ARMS. WE WOULD BE MAKING A MOCKERY OF ALL THE SACRIFICES OUR PEOPLE HAVE MADE IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE GENUINE

AND UNCONDITIONAL NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE.

WE NOW LEARN THAT AN ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL HAS BEEN APPOINTED (PREMATURELY) BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO LEAD THE COUNTRY INTO ELECTIONS. THE CHOICE IS "JUSTICE" MARTHINUS STEYN - A SUPREME COURT JUDGE, DESCRIBED BY THE SOUTH AFRICANS AS "NEUTRAL" AND "IMPARTIAL".

TO THE NAMINIAN PEOPLE HE CANNOT HOPE TO BE EITHER. AS A SOUTH AFRICAN, STEYN IS A SYMBOL OF SOUTH AFRICAN CONTROL. AS A JUDGE, HE IS A DIRECT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN SYSTEM OF SO-CALLED JUSTICE WHICH HAS IMPOSED THE RACIST LAWS OF APARTHEID IN NAMIBIA ON IMPRISONING, DETAINING, VICTIMISING AND EXECUTING THE PEOPLE.
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SUCH A MAN IS NEITHER NEEDED NOR WANTED. MOREOVER, HIS APPOINTMENT IS MERELY A REPLACEMENT OF ONE ILLEGAL ADMINISTRATOR BY ANOTHER. AS LONG AS THE REGIME KEEPS ITS OCCUPATION TROOPS IN NAMIBIA, A CHANGE IN ADMINISTRATOR, OR INDEED ANY OTHER ARRANGMENT, IS INVALID.

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SOUTH AFRICA HAS GONE AHEAD WITH THIS APPOINTMENT WITHOUT REFERENCE TO THE UN DEMANDS FOR THE COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL OF THE OCCUPYING TROOPS AND ADMINISTRATION.

MOREOVER, THE APPOINTMENT ITSELF IS A RESULT OF THE PROPOSALS WHICH HAVE ONLY BEEN AGREED ON BY SOUTH AFRICA AND THE FIVE POWERS, AND NOT BY SWAPO, NOR BY THE UN. SOUTH AFRICA HAS PERSISTENTLY REFUSED TO LET THE UN CARRY OUT ITS RESPONSIBILITIES IN NAMIBIA.

THE ONLY CONCLUSION SWAPO CAN DRAW FROM THIS APPOINTMENT IS THAT SOUTH AFRICA IS MANOEUVRING ITSELF INTO A POSITION WHERE IT HOPES TO DETERMINE THE PACE AND OUTCOME OF ANY CHANGE. THE PROPOSED ELECTIONS ARE GEARED TOWARDS ENGINEERING AN OUTCOME WHICH SUITS THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. THAT IS THE REASON
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WHY IT REFUSES TO WITHDRAW ITS ARMY AND POLICE FORCE AND THE ANGOLAN UNITA AND FNLA TROOPS WHICH THEY EQUIP AND TRAIN FOR USE AGAINST SWAPO FREEDOM FIGHTERS.

THIS IS WHY SWAPO DEMANDS ELECTIONS UNDER UN SUPERVISION AND CONTROL. SWAPO NEEDS TO CREATE AN ATMOSPHERE CONDUCTIVE TO HOLDING FREE ELECTIONS BEFORE THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE CAN FREELY DETERMINE THEIR OWN FUTURE.

THE UN MUST BE ALLOWED TO EXERCISE ITS FULL AUTHORITY IN NAMIBIA. THERE MUST BE A REPLACEMENT OF THE ILLEGAL ADMINISTRATION IN NAMIBIA AND STRICT ADHERENCE TO THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 385.

IF AN OPPORTUNITY ARISES FOR GENUINELY NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT, SWAPO WOULD NOT LET IT GO BY. HOWEVER, SOUTH AFRICA'S GENUINENESS CAN ONLY BE MEASURED BY ITS WILLINGNESS TO COMPLY WITH THE DEMANDS OF THE UN.

SWAPO KNOWS THE SOUTH AFRICANS THROUGH LONG AND BITTER EXPERIENCE. EVERY "NEW" SOLUTION THEY SUGGEST IS ANOTHER FORM OF CONTROL IN A NEW GUISE. THAT IS WHY THE IDEA OF AN ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL IS REJECTED BY SWAPO.

SWAPO WILL NOT TAKE SOUTH AFRICA SERIOUSLY UNTIL IT REMOVES ALL CAUSES OF WAR FROM NAMIBIA. FOR THE PRESENCE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN ARMY IN NAMIBIA IS A TANGIBLE PROOF THAT SOUTH

AFRICA HAS ROOM TO MANOEUVRE AND THAT IT HAS THE POTENTIAL
TO USURP FULL CONTROL AT ANY STATE. END TEXT.
WATERMAN

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